DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 320 301 EA 021 984

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TITLE Comparison of High School and Elementary School Cultures.
PUB DATE Apr 90
NOTE 41p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Boston, MA, April 16-20, 1990).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Culture; Elementary Education; *Elementary Schools; *High Schools; *School Demography; *School Organization; Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Morale
IDENTIFIERS *School Culture; *Wisconsin

ABSTRACT

The examination of school organization from a cultural perspective focuses on value orientation and commitment in elementary and secondary schools, and relates the predicted cultural differences to specific organizational and demographic attributes. A cluster-sampling procedure first selected schools as the unit of analysis, and then selected teachers from each school. A survey of teachers from 53 elementary schools and 51 high schools yielded a 83.6 percent response rate. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and multiple regression were the primary methods of data analysis. The findings suggest that differences in organizational culture exist between elementary and high schools, and that such differences are not a function of demographic or organizational variables. A second finding indicates that the higher the level of normative value orientation, the higher the level of teacher organizational commitment. Normative controls therefore generate higher levels of teacher commitment. Finally, the results failed to confirm any relationship between personal characteristics of teachers and differences in organizational culture. This suggests that school culture exists independently of individual traits. The implications for administrative practice are that different school cultures require different administrative practices. (43 references) (LMI)

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Comparison of High School and Elementary School Cultures

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Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Association, April 1990, Boston

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Introduction

There is no single comprehensive organizational theory that fully explains the complexity of the school as social organization. Like the elephant examined by blind men, schools "feel different" to both participants and observers. Principals, teachers, or students may describe the school as a tight ship, an assembly line, or even a prison. Organizational theorists (Morgan, 1986) describe schools as machines, organisms, brains, cultures, systems and structures. Each theoretical model or metaphor expresses part of the organizational reality of schools, while each is also incomplete and somewhat misleading.

The current and widespread interest in school reform emphasizes the rational, structural, machine like aspects of school organizations. If school machines are just run more efficiently, if quality control measures are made more rigorous, if production goals are increased and if management gets tough and takes control, than the product (student learning) will be greatly improved. But schools are more than bureaucratic machines, and the goals and functions of schools may be more political, cultural, and human than rational. Educational reforms proposed without regard for the irrational, human aspects of schools may become educational fads or even organizational barriers to meaningful and lasting school change.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the complexity of the school organization from a cultural perspective using quantitative analysis. Although in many respects the culture of each organization is unique, "common ingredients" in school cultures have

been identified (Lightfoot, 1983, Sarason 1971, Purkey and Smith, 1983). As any practitioner spending time in schools knows, cultural differences are real and directly effect the quality of the school•worklife. Empirical validation of common cultural features in school organizations may better inform the current reform efforts and help reduce educational faddism. Using Schein's model (1985) of organizational culture, this study attempted to identify and quantify common cultural variables that differentiate the elementary and high school organizational culture. The primary focus of the study was limited to two selected aspects of school culture: value orientation and commitment. A secondary objective of the study was to relate the predicted cultural differences to specific organizational and demographic attributes. Put simply, this study was an attempt to demonstrate that schools that "feel different" are in fact different in two measurable aspects of organizational culture.

A Cultural Perspective

This study assumes a cultural organizational perspective, where organizational phenomena are socially defined, and where the perceived meaning of a school event is more important than the event itself. "The symbolic frame reminds us of the enormous extent to which reality is socially constructed and symbolically mediated" (Bolman and Deal, 1987).

Organizational culture has been defined by numerous researchers. The cultural anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) found 164 different definitions of culture. Ott (1989) summarized an anthology of fifty-eight books and articles that defined organizational culture differently. The definitions range from the simple to the complex with no single definition acceptable to all researchers. Culture is described as "social glue" (Smircich, 1983) and organizational "blinders" (Frost and Krefting, 1985). To Bower (1966) organizational culture is "the way we do things around here." To Lortie (1975) "culture includes what members of a group think about social action; culture encompasses alternatives for resolving problems in collective life."

According to Schein (1985) organizational culture is the "basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization." The culture is the organization's set of stable solutions to the ultimate problem of organizational survival. Organizational culture includes organizational assumptions about

reality, shared values, myths and stories, rites and rituals, and organizational heroes (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). From the cultural perspective, organizational structure and goals, human abilities and needs, power and competition are all secondary to the symbols and socially constructed meaning that drive the organization.

Schein (1985) offers a comprehensive and theoretically useful model of organizational culture (Figure 1). According to Schein culture includes three levels: observable behaviors, shared values, and organizational assumptions about reality.

Figure 1. Schein's Model of Organizational Culture

Artifacts and Creations	
Technology	Visible but
Art	often not
Visible and audible behavior patterns	decipherable
Values	
Testable in physical environment	Greater level
Testable only by social consensus	of awareness
Basic Assumptions	
Relationship to environment	
Nature of reality, time and space	Taken for
Nature of human nature	granted,
Nature of human activity	Preconscious,
Nature of human relationships	Invisible

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1980.

Level I in Schein's model refers to the organizational artifacts and behaviors that are the most visible aspect of the organizational culture. Artifacts

may refer to written documents, office layouts and furniture, technology, dress codes or symbolic awards and plaques. Behaviors include language, jargon, rituals and routines. Artifacts and behaviors are directly observable to both outsiders and organizational members. But similar behaviors and artifacts may have very different meanings and may reflect different values in each organization, so observable behavior is not a reliable measure of more deeply held cultural values and assumptions. In the cultural perspective the meaning of the behavior is more important than the behavior itself. Observed behaviors may be misleading since similar behaviors may result from very different values, and have different meanings in different organizations.

> A living culture exists in beliefs and values more than in artifacts and documents. This makes managing the culture a very intangible undertaking, and it renders the job of analyzing culture equally frustrating at times (Davis, 1984).

The second level of Schein's model is concerned with the values and beliefs of the organization. Values are the organizational member's sense of what ought to be. In business organizations, advertising may be a valued activity. In many schools, teacher autonomy in grading papers, or "covering" (Sarason, 1971) the curriculum is valued. Unlike artifacts and behaviors which are often subject to misinterpretation by outside observers, and cultural assumptions which are often preconscious or unconscious, values and beliefs are potentially measurable, testable, and verifiable.

> Many values remain conscious and are explicitly articulated because they serve the normative or moral function of guiding members of the group in how to deal with certain key situations (Schein, 1985, p.16)

The third level of organizational culture is basic assumptions about organizational reality. Assumptions are the foundation of a culture. In fact, assumptions define reality for organizational members. An example of such an assumption is the profit motive in capitalist cultures, or the primacy of children's' well being in the public schools. "If an assumption is strongly held in a group, members would find behavior based on any other premise inconceivable" (Schein, 1985). Still another example of cultural assumptions is teachers' orientations or the outlooks of conservatism, presentism, and individualism as identified in *Schoolteacher*, Dan Lortie's classic (1975) sociological study of teachers. Such orientations are unconsciously shared by large numbers of teachers and shape the culture of the teaching profession. Teacher values and behaviors are unknowingly shaped by these outlooks or assumptions. Although assumptions are the essential foundation of Schein's model, assumptions are not observable or measurable. For most organizational members, assumptions are preconscious and taken for granted.

Previous studies have emphasized the qualitative aspects of organizational culture. Peters and Waterman (1982) have noted commonalities of organizational "excellence" and that successful organizations have

eight common cultural characteristics. Schein has postulated common stages of development or growth in organizational culture. In a study of secondary school cultures, Lightfoot (1983) identified similarities or "important ingredients" in good high schools, while MacNeil (1986) describes a culture of control in four midwestern high schools. Sarason (1971) describes "programmatic and behavioral regularities" in the elementary school. Such ethnographic studies are investigatory and qualitative in nature. The complexity and uniqueness of organizational culture has been confirmed, but so has the existence of common cultural features across schools. Another side of the research triangle, an empirical perspective, is needed to compare and validate cultural variables across school organizations and to extend the study of school culture.

Value Orientation

An empirical or quantitative analysis of school culture requires measurable cultural constructs. This study employs two such constructs: organizational value orientation and organizational commitment. Values are the stuff of organizational culture. Values are so important to organizational culture that many authors define values as the organization's culture (Ott, 1989, pp. 39). Definitions of organizational culture generally include reference to shared organizational values (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Deal, 1985; Sergiovanni, 1987). The trappings of culture, the rituals, the stories and myths, the heroes are the expression of shared organizational values. Unlike basic cultural assumptions values are conscious and affective. They

are the "shoulds," and "oughts" of organizational culture. Values can be and often are expressed openly and directly by organizational members. Many values remain conscious and are explicitly articulated because they serve as behavioral guides for organizational members (Schein, 1985). Values and beliefs are potentially measurable, testable, and verifiable.

But not all values and beliefs are subject to empirical testing. Argyris and Schon (1978) have identified "espoused values" which predict what people will say but not what they will do. Such espoused values may be in conflict with cultural assumptions and therefore will not reflect the "way we do things around here." Differences in espoused values may have little or no relation to real cultural differences between schools; Although cultural values cannot be validated solely through empirical tests, such measures are important to a comprehensive or "triangulated" study of school culture. .

Etzioni's (1961) typology of organizations provides a framework for conceptualizing the value orientation of organizations. Organizations can be classified by the type of power used to control lower participants. Three types of power were identified: coercive, utilitarian, and normative. The type of power is associated with the degree of participant involvement in the organization (Gross and Etzioni, 1985). Participants in coercive organizations have little involvement or are alienated. Participants in normative organizations tend to be more involved or committed to organizational goals. Public schools can be said to be on a continuum between utilitarian and normative types of organizations. As

schools increase utilitarian control, teachers and administrators can be expected to be less committed. Willower, Eidell, and Hoy (1967) compared elementary and secondary public schools, and concluded that most elementary schools emphasize normative compliance to a greater extent than secondary schools do. Hodgkins and Herriot (1970) found normative compliance more characteristic of primary grades, and more utilitarian compliance structures in the higher grades. In her detailed, ethnographic study of four Wisconsin high schools, MacNeil(1986) was able to differentiate schools by the quality of administrative control exercised in each school. She concluded that the type of control affects the overall functioning of the school, including each organizational member, the curriculum, teaching techniques and student thinking and learning.

Based on Etzioni's typology, Reyes (1988) developed an instrument to assess organizational value orientation. The instrument assumes "school systems have two underlying value orientation systems: normative and utilitarian." The normative orientation emphasizes the symbolic or cultural values of the organization. The utilitarian orientation emphasizes the materialistic or monetary aspects of organizational control. Schools with a utilitarian value orientation emphasize scheduling, and written policies to regulate teacher work load, teaching assignments, and extra duty assignments. Schools with a normative value orientation emphasize shared behavior norms developed through common group experiences, and are less reliant on formal written policy and pay and time schedules. Reyes' instrumentation were used to examine value orientation

in the organizational cultures of elementary and secondary schools.

Organizational Commitment

The second major cultural construct in this study is organizational commitment. Like value orientation commitment is seen as closely related to organizational culture. But unlike value orientation commitment is not related to a specific level of Schein's model of organizational culture. Rather, commitment is seen as a general outcome of organizational life. Commitment is shaped by the norms and symbols, values and beliefs, and the basic assumptions of the organizational culture. Peterson and Martin (1990) contend that "elements" of organizational cultural are related to the degree of commitment. Such elements include shared values, and the nature of reward system, as well as clarity of organizational mission and leadership.

In Etzioni's typology of organizations (1975) organizational commitment is an especially important outcome of the use and distribution of organizational power. For Etzioni there is a correspondence between type of power and the type of commitment or alienation that results. Normative organizations tend to promote more commitment, while coercive organizations promote alienation. Normative organizations tend to convince or persuade members to comply, utilitarian organizations tend to appeal to self interest and material means to gain compliance. To the extent that the school values are normative, coercive and utilitarian controls are inappropriate. To the extent that school values are

normative, organizational commitment is an important outcome.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1972) studied commitment in communes, highly normative religious or utopian organizations. In communes organizational survival depends upon the commitment of organizational members. "The problem of securing total and complete commitment is central" (Kanter, 1972). Yet in normative organizations commitment is more than survival. It is, in Kanter's words, the "essence of community." While commitment may be the essence of normative organizational culture, degrees of commitment or alienation are found in all organizations.

Commitment is loyalty to the organization (Mowday, Steers, and Porter, 1979) or "the relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization" (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1982). Commitment can be described from an attitudinal or behavioral perspective (Stevens et. al., 1978). As an attitude, commitment is identification with the organization. Behaviorally commitment is "exchanged" by an organizational participant for organizational benefits such as salary or retirement benefits. This study focuses on commitment as an individual psychological attitude that is shared by organizational members and shaped by cultural values. As such an attitude, commitment has been associated with motivation and performance (Bredeson, Kasten, Fruth, 1983), absenteeism and tardiness (Angle & Perry, 1981, and turnover (Porter and Steers, 1973). The study does not examine commitment as a behavioral response (length of

tenure with the same organization) exchanged for economic incentives.

A Rational, Political Perspective

From a cultural perspective commitment is a measured organizational attitude shaped by the assumptions, values, and behaviors of the organization. Value orientation is a more specific measure of one important element of the organizational culture. In this study commitment and value orientation are the primary constructs or variables used to compare the organizational cultures of elementary and secondary schools. From a more rational perspective variables such as school size, gender, tenure, experience and age are primary organizational factors. Personal and organizational factors exist independently of the school's culture, but they may also indirectly shape the culture. McPherson, Pitner, and Crowson (1986) found that experience, gender, and age were related to commitment. In a study of autonomy and commitment in public schools, Reyes (1989) concluded teachers were more committed to small schools than large schools, and that women were more committed than men. If there is one best rational way to organize schools, then such variables could be manipulated to increase commitment, change shared values, and shape the school culture. Peterson and Martin (1990) suggest that specific organizational features "may mediate the influence of culture on commitment." In this study such demographic and organizational variables are of secondary importance. They are included because the complexity of schools cannot be expressed from a single perspective

(Bolman and Deal, 1984), and because the literature suggests that control of these major demographic and organizational variables is essential to a valid comparison of school cultures (Reyes, 1989).

Theoretical Framework and Study Hypotheses

This study uses a cultural perspective to analyze differences between public elementary and secondary schools. In a model of organizational culture proposed by Schein (1985) organizational assumptions about reality, organizational values, and overt organizational behaviors are the three major components of an organization's culture. Two constructs, organizational value orientation and commitment, were selected to measure and compare cultural differences between school types. Organizational value orientation was selected because organizational values in Schein"s model are testable and more easily interpreted than assumptions or overt behaviors. Organizational values were conceptualized on a continuum from normative to utilitarian in accord with an organizational typology developed by Etzioni (1975) and measured by the Organizational Value Orientation Questionnaire developed by Reyes (1988). Teacher commitment, broadly defined as loyalty to the school organization (Mowday, Steers, and Porter, 1979), was selected as the second major dependent variable because in normative organizations commitment is seen as a primary cultural feature related to all three levels of Schein's cultural model. Peterson and Martin assert that "commitment is shaped by the norms, values, beliefs, and other cultural elements

of organizations (1990). Organizational commitment was measured by the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire developed by Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979). Researchers (Hall, Schneider, and Nygren, 1970; Morris and Sherman, 1981; Reyes, 1989) have also identified personal and organizational variables that are related to organizational commitment. Such variables include school size, gender, age, experience and tenure. The cultural perspective, however, rejects a cause and effect relationship between culture, value orientation, and commitment; instead a reciprocal relationship between variables was hypothesized.

This study attempted to empirically verify differences in two selected features of organizational culture in elementary and secondary schools. More specifically, the study examined the differences between value orientation and teacher commitment in Wisconsin public elementary schools versus value orientation and commitment in secondary schools. The following hypotheses were tested.

Hypothesis 1: There is no difference between elementary and secondary schools in organizational value orientation, and organizational commitment.

Hypothesis 2: The organizational and demographic variables will make a positive contribution to a linear composite significantly related to organizational value orientation.

Hypothesis 3: The organizational and demographic variables will make a positive contribution to a linear composite significantly related to organizational commitment.

Methodology

Population and Sample

This study used survey research methodology to compare two sets of schools, elementary and secondary, in the degree of normative value orientation, and the level of teacher commitment. The study also examined commitment and value orientation as related to school size, age, teaching experience in the present school, total teaching experience, and gender. The study used a "cluster" sampling procedure, first selecting schools as the unit of analysis, and then selecting teachers from each school.

With the exception of the Milwaukee Public Schools, the population of this study included all elementary and secondary schools in Wisconsin. The Milwaukee Pubic Schools were excluded because that district was undergoing a major reorganization under a new superintendent. The unit of analysis was the school. Public elementary schools were defined as schools housing no more than grades K-6. Public secondary or high schools were defined as schools housing no more than grades 7-12. Schools described as middle schools or junior high schools, and schools with less than 200 students were not part of the population. The sample included 53 randomly selected elementary schools and 51 randomly selected high schools. The elementary schools ranged in size from 213 to 775 students, with a mean size of 411 students. The high schools ranged in size from 210 to 1,988 students, with a mean size of 638 students.

A random sample of five teachers was selected from the population of teachers in each of the 104 schools. The sample included 265 elementary and 255 secondary teachers. School counselors, psychologists, social workers, and less than full time teachers were eliminated from the teacher population; but the population did include teachers of all certifications (special education, music, etc.) recognized by the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.

Procedure

A thirty item questionnaire, measuring organizational value orientation and commitment, and acquiring demographic data was mailed to each teacher at the school address. With each questionnaire was a letter explaining the purpose of the study and asking for the cooperation of the teacher. If the teacher failed to respond within thirty days, a second letter and questionnaire was mailed. 83.6% of the elementary and secondary teachers in the sample responded to the survey.

Personal data included organizational tenure, gender, years of experience and age. To achieve an acceptable return rate, letters were also sent to the building principal explaining the purpose of the study, identifying the randomly selected teachers in the principal's building, and asking the cooperation of the principal. If a specific school had a low response rate, the principal was contacted by phone or a second letter.

Instrumentation

The constructs measured in this study are: value orientation and organizational commitment. Questionnaires were used to assess each construct as measured on a 5 point Likert-type scale. The Organizational Value Orientation Questionnaire developed by Reyes (1988) defines value orientation as a "guidance system" for psychological behavior and decision making within an organization. The OVOQ is based on Etzioni's concepts of normative and utilitarian orientation. The normative orientation emphasizes the symbolic, the utilitarian emphasizes the materialistic aspects of school organizational life. The OVOQ consists of ten items, with five items representing a normative value orientation and five representing a utilitarian orientation. Reyes (1990) reports a reliability coefficient alpha of .89.

This study employs a three part definition of organizational commitment (Mowday, Porter, Steers 1982): a strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values, a willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization, and a strong desire to maintain membership in the organization. The construct of organizational commitment is measured by the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire developed by Mowday and Steers (1979). This instrument has been widely used in studies of organizational commitment. Other data collected included school size, school type and demographic information such as age, tenure in the organization, and total years of teaching experience. Validity of r = 0.70 and reliability of 0.90 have been reported in the literature (Reyes, 1989).

Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed by three different statistical procedures depending on the question of interest and the form of the tested hypothesis. Data collected to examine the differences between elementary and secondary schools were analyzed by multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). Using school membership (secondary or elementary) as the independent variable, MANOVA was used to test for differences in value orientation and organizational commitment. To test the hypothesis that demographic and organizational variables relate to value orientation and commitment multiple regression procedures were used. Each of the two dependent measures, value orientation and organizational commitment were regressed on measures of the independent predictors: school size, age, years of experience, and gender.

RESULTS

The results are organized into three sections; In the first section, the descriptive statistics are presented. The first group of statistics (Table 1 and Table 1a) describes the 104 schools used to compare elementary and high school organizational cultures. The second group of statistics (Table 2 and Table 2a) describes the 435 teacher respondents. The second section of results is a summary of the multivariate analysis test (Table 3) of the first hypothesis regarding cultural differences between elementary and secondary schools. The third section includes the multiple regression analyses used to test the remaining two hypotheses regarding the relationship between the described demographic variables and value orientation and commitment. One regression equation used value orientation (Table 4) as the dependent variable, and the other regression used commitment (Table 5) as the dependent variable.

Overall, the study findings suggest that differences in organizational culture exist between elementary and high schools. Such difference do not appear to be a function of demographic or organizational variables.

Descriptive Statistics

A response rate of 83.6% for all teachers, 82.2% for elementary and 85.1% for secondary teachers was achieved. As a group the elementary teachers' mean age was 41.2; the youngest was 24 and the oldest 67. They had spent an average of 11.09 years at their present

job with a range of 1 through 34 years. The average total years of professional experience in education was 15.8 years, ranging from 2 to 39 years. 88% of the elementary teachers were female. The mean age for the secondary teachers was 41.4, with a range from 24 to 61. The secondary teachers averaged 14.4 years at their present school, with a range of less than one year to 34 years. The secondary teachers averaged 17.6 years of total professional experience in education, ranging from 1 to 38 years. Most of the secondary school teachers, 65.3%, were male.

Table 2a shows the correlation matrix for eight variables describing the teachers included in the sample. In analyzing these variables, we aggregated all responses to the individual teacher level (N = 435) and then rejected incomplete or unreadable responses for a usable N of 377. The variable school type, elementary or secondary, is correlated with commitment, school experience, gender, and school size. That is, elementary teachers tend to be more committed, have less school experience, are primarily female, and work in smaller schools. A normative value orientation in teachers is correlated with high levels of commitment, and vice-versa. Male teachers appear to be more experienced and more likely to work in high schools. Finally, the correlation matrix confirms the common sense observations that age and experience are related and that high schools tend to be larger than elementary schools. It is also interesting to note that, unlike previous studies (Reyes, 1989; Hrebiniak and Alutto, 1972; Koch and Steers, 1978) there is no significant

correlation between school size, gender, or age and commitment.

Hypothesis 1.

To test the first hypothesis that no group differences would exist in organizational value orientation and organizational commitment between elementary and high schools, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. Because schools were the unit of analysis (Table 1), the aggregate level of normative value orientation and the aggregate level of school commitment among the responding teachers per school building was computed (Table 1a). The analysis was statistically significant, implying that differences do exist regarding the two dependent variables between elementary and high schools (table 3). Post-hoc analysis completed with univariate F-tests revealed statistically significant differences in organizational commitment ($F[1, 102] = 5.97$, $p < .02$) between elementary and high schools. Elementary schools demonstrated higher levels of organizational commitment than high schools. No statistically significant difference was observed in the univariate F-test ($F[1, 102] = 0.02$, $p < .89$) in organizational value orientation between elementary and high schools. Although elementary schools demonstrate a more normative value orientation than do high schools, the difference appears minimal.

Hypothesis 2 and 3

To test the hypothesis that organizational and personal attributes would contribute to a linear composite that would be related to organizational value orientation and organizational commitment, two regression equations were computed: one for value orientation and one for commitment. The first equation to explain teacher value orientation was significant. Teacher commitment (Beta = .304, F sig. = $p < .000$) was the most powerful predictor of teacher value orientation (Table 4). None of the organizational or demographic variables made a significant contribution to explaining value orientation. The higher the level of normative orientation the higher the teacher organizational commitment.

A second regression equation was computed to explain teacher commitment. The independent variables explaining the variance in commitment were organizational value orientation (Beta = .312, F sig. = .000) and school type (Beta = -.176, F sig. = .001), elementary or secondary (Table 5). Once again there is a relationship between commitment and value orientation. The higher the level of teacher organizational commitment, the more normative the value orientation was. Concerning the variable of school type, teachers in elementary school have higher levels of organizational commitment than high school teachers do. Value orientation and school type accounted for approximately 11% of the variance in teacher commitment. The multiple R^2 was .1115, with F sig. = 0.00. Again none of the organizational or demographic

variables made a significant contribution in accounting for the variance in commitment.

DISCUSSION

Results of the data analysis supported the major research hypotheses of this study. The results demonstrated that differences between the organizational cultures of elementary schools and high schools exist. That is, the elementary school culture differs from secondary school culture in the degree of normative teacher value orientation and in the degree of teacher commitment. Treated together as a function of school type, commitment and value orientation were significantly different in elementary and high schools. Treated independently, teachers in elementary schools were more committed to the school organization than were teachers in secondary schools; but the degree of normative value orientation for teachers in elementary schools was not significantly higher than for teachers in secondary schools. In fact, both elementary and secondary schools demonstrated a relatively high degree of normative value orientation compared to the other populations assessed through the OVOQ (Reyes, 1988 and 1989).

Differences between organizational cultures in elementary and secondary schools are also apparent in both regression analyses. The first regression analysis relates value orientation to commitment, and the second regression relates commitment to value orientation and school type. The matrix (Table 2a) summarizing the correlations between the variables used in the regression analyses also suggests that commitment and value orientation, and commitment and school type are related. Taken together with the results of the

multivariate analysis of variance, this study strongly suggests that elementary and high schools have distinctly different cultural values and generate different levels of organizational commitment.

The second major contribution of this study is the confirmation of the relationship between value orientation and organizational commitment. This relationship is especially prominent in the regression analyses, but is also evident in the correlations between variables and in the analysis of variance results. The first regression analysis suggested that commitment is a significant predictor of value orientation. The second regression analysis suggested that value orientation and type of school were significant predictors of organizational commitment. The higher the level of normative value orientation, the higher the teacher organizational commitment. A 1988 study by Reyes reported very similar findings.

> First, it is clear that in those organizations holding a stronger normative orientation, employees are more satisfied with their job and are more committed to the organization than employees in organizations holding a stronger utilitarian orientation.

It appears that schools emphasizing normative controls, as opposed to utilitarian controls (contract stipulations and monetary incentives) generate higher levels of teacher commitment.

Still a third contribution of this study to the research on school culture is what the study failed to find. The study failed to confirm any relationship between differences in school size and differences in

organizational culture. The study failed to confirm any relationship between the personal characteristics of teachers, such as age, gender, or experience, and differences in organizational culture. This finding, or lack of finding, is important because it suggests that school culture is more than the collective sum of organizational members. Organizational value orientation is not the sum of individual values. Organizational commitment is not the sum of individual teacher's dedication. There appears to be a synergy, a culture of commitment and values that resides in the organization as whole. This culture, or at least the measured value orientation and organizational commitment of the school organization, appears to be relatively independent of the individual traits and characteristics of organizational members.

This study does not suggest that one culture is "stronger" (Deal and Kennedy, 1982) than another. The results of this study do not mean that elementary schools are better than high schools. The findings are limited to teacher value orientation and commitment. Public schools are complex organizations with multiple organizational cultures and subcultures. Schools do not exist in a social vacuum, but in the culture of a larger nation and community. School organizations are composed of several types of participants, serving diverse populations that change annually. Teachers, students, administrators, parents, and citizens are each members of several cultures and organizations that have different values and commitments. The value orientation and commitment of these various school populations were not compared in this study, and generalizations to the

entire school organization or total collection of related school cultures are not justified by the results of this study.

Despite these limitations, the study has some implications for school administrative practice. If increased teacher commitment to the school is the goal, this study suggests that school administrators who emphasize normative controls will be more successful than administrators who emphasize utilitarian controls. The study also suggests that high schools are in fact different from elementary schools in two important features of organizational culture, and that distinctly different administrative practices are needed when school cultures are significantly different. The most important implication for school administrators is not to make high schools more like elementary schools, but to recognize the considerable challenge involved in changing or managing organizational culture in complex organizations like the pubic schools. The diversity and pluralistic nature of the high school culture, the differences in value orientation and commitment, clearly make the challenge of leadership at the high school fundamentally different from the challenge of leadership at the elementary school. We are convinced that high schools feel different and are culturally distinct from elementary schools. Like the blind men studying the elephant, we hope this study is a contribution to the study of a complex and powerful phenomenon.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for the Schools

School	Number of Cases	Student Enrollment	
		Range	Mean
Elementary	53	213 - 775	411
Secondary	51	210 - 1,988	638

N = 104

Table 1a

Descriptive Statistics for the Schools

Group Means and Standard Deviations for the

Dependent Variables

Teachers		Org. Value Orientation	Org. Commitment
Elementary	Mean	36.78	75.13
	SD	3.56	9.27
Secondary	Mean	36.69	70.47
	SD	2.65	10.17

N = 104

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Teachers

Teachers	Number of Cases	Sex Male	Sex Female	Mean Age	Mean Experience	Mean School Experience
Elementary	218	12.0%	88.0%	41.2	15.8 yrs.	11.1 yrs.
Secondary	217	65.3%	34.7%	41.4	17.6 yrs.	14.4 yrs.

N = 435

Table 2a
Descriptive Statistics for the Teachers Matrix Correlations of Selected Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Elem./ Sec.							
2. Value Orientation	-.066						
3. Commitment	-.166*	.278**					
4. Age	.012	-.050	-.048				
5. School Experience	.203**	-.078	-.018	.713**			
6. Total Experience	.109	-.049	-.049	.882**	.830**		
7. Gender	-.554**	.071	.071	-.119	-.235**	.195**	
8. School Size	.341**	-.011	-.080	.077	.122	.117	-.031

Note: *Statistically Significant at $p < .01$,
** Statistically Significant at $p < .001$
N = 377

Dummy variables coded as elementary = 1, secondary = 2; male = 1, female = 2.

Table 3
Omnibus Manova Test for Differences in Organizational Value Orientation and Organizational Commitment in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Root No.	Eigenvalue	Cannonical Correlation
1	.060	.328

Test	Value	Approx F	Hyp. df	Err df	Sig. of F
Pillais	.057	3.04	2	101	0.05
Hotellings	.060	3.04	2	101	0.05
Wilks	.943	3.04	2	101	0.05
Roys	.060	3.04	2	101	0.05

N = 104

Univariate F-tests with (1, 102) D. F.

Variable	*Hyp. MS*	*Error MS*	*F*	*Sig.*
Value Orientation	0.197	9.910	.02	0.88
Commitment	565.221	94.624	5.97	0.02

Table 4
Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis
Dependent Variable: Organizational Value Orientation

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Commitment	.08455	.01484	.30443	5.699	.0000
(Constant)	30.66101	1.10350		27.785	.0000
Multiple R	.30443				
R Square	.09268				

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	559.88433	559.88433
Residual	318	5481.48754	17.23738

F = 32.48082 Sig. F = .0000

Table 5
Stepwise Mutiple Regression Analysis
Dependent Variable: Organizational Commitment

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Value Orient.	1.04761	.19152	.29097	5.470	.0000
Elem/Sec.	-4.32020	1.66482	-.13804	-2.595	.0099
Constant	40.68798	7.75786		5.245	.0000
Multiple R	.33399				
R Square	.11155				

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	8735.69198	4367.84599
Residual	317	69577.42989	219.48716

F = 19.90023 Sig. F = 0.0